



REV. D. V. LUCAS, D.D.

The British Empire and Imperial Federation

BY
aniel
annorman
REV. D. V. LUCAS, D.D.

Fellow of the
Royal Colonial Institute

AUTHOR OF

"Railway Sermons"
"All About Canada"
"Australia and Homeward"
"Canaan and Canada," etc., etc.



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The British Empire and Imperial Federation.



I BELIEVE that the British Empire has been founded and continued thus far by the Great Arbitrator and Ruler of the nations, for the promotion of the well-being of the human race, and that its more complete and perfect consolidation would not only make its perpetuation to the end of time more certain, but would also make it more effective in the working out of the problems of human weal.

I fear that, if full federation be not accomplished soon, our children may have trouble which might be avoided by our timely action. With the exception of India, British populations outside the United Kingdom are smaller than that of the mother land. It cannot be very long until all this will be changed.

When that day comes our successors will not easily submit to matters, which they may regard of much importance to them, being settled to their disadvantage by the smaller number for the sake of satisfying the unreasonable demands of some foreign power.

Several times within the past century or so, Canada has been thrown into a state of restlessness by this very thing. Newfoundland has also had similar experience.

Great Britain's arbitrary treatment of Newfoundland in overriding Provincial legislation by the exercise of an authority unknown to constitutional law is affecting the relations between the mother country and her self-governing colonies.

Before this matter is finally settled the Governments of Great Britain and the United States will have to recognize that this is not merely a Newfoundland question, but that it affects Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. If the British Government can lawfully override the laws of Newfoundland, it can similarly override the laws of any other Province, and, if this is so, the sooner the colonies know it the better. . . . What Canadians will protest against to the bitter end is any attempt to settle this controversy without reference to the history of the question and the law of the Imperial constitution. That way lies trouble infinitely more dangerous than the temporary displeasure of the United States.
—*Globe*, April, 1907.

Ireland, which should have had Home Rule long ago, if by Home Rule is meant complete control of strictly local affairs, has chafed much under her humiliating disability.

And now India is growing restless. Unless action is taken soon, serious complications may arise, making this great desideratum much more difficult than now to obtain.

It is now more than twenty years since I joined the original Imperial Federation League, organized in the city of Montreal.

Since then I have had the honor of addressing many thousands of persons on the question in almost all parts of the British world.

If I had not been kindly heard, and as kindly commended by such gentlemen as Col. Geo. T. Denison, P. M. of Toronto, who has for so many years taken so lively an interest in this matter; by the late Sir Henry Parkes, of New South Wales, and by the late Hon. J. B. Paterson, Premier of Victoria, Australia, and commended as well by scores of the leading politicians and papers on the other side of the world, especially, I fear I should not have had the courage to put these thoughts before the public.

In speaking on this very great matter in so many parts of the world, I have tried everywhere to secure the presence of very many of our boys and young men, and no other remembrance of my work has given me more satisfaction than that I have been permitted to address so many of our British young people on the vastness and the importance of the Empire to which they belong.

And I am greatly gratified to remember that in all instances the young people (eight and ten years old, and upward) entered as heartily into the subject as persons of more advanced years.

My method and aim were to simplify, so as to bring the question within the reach of the youngest, then the older also could not fail to understand.

I shall pursue the same method here, with the hope that many of my younger readers may become interested in this theme of such vast importance. That we may have at least an approximate concep-

tion of the vastness of this great Empire, let us compare it with some of those greatest and most powerful Empires of antiquity. Nor need I here trouble the reader with dry figures or statistics to get some conception of how great our Empire is.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, issued a decree "unto all people, nations and languages that dwell in all the earth."

Darius, the Mede, who built up his greater kingdom on the ruin of that of Nebuchadnezzar, setting one hundred and twenty princes over that many provinces, also issued a decree "unto all people, nations and languages that dwell in all the earth."

Tradition says the ambitious Alexander thought he had conquered the whole world, and wept because there was not another world for him to conquer.

Whatever doubt we may have respecting the claim of these Emperors with their ruling the world, we certainly can have none respecting the claim of the Roman Emperor at the beginning of our Christian era. "There went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that *all the world* should be taxed."

It would be a pretty large proposition for any man to issue a decree to-day that "all the world" should be taxed, or send his greetings to "all peoples and nations and languages that dwell in all the earth."

Yet it does not appear that these great rulers made themselves the laughing-stock of their race.

There seems to have been a general consent that they ruled over all the world worth ruling over.

What a source of pride it must be to every Britisher to find that our Edward rules at this hour

over five such worlds as that to which Cæsar Augustus issued his famous message, and his empire was considerably greater in every sense than any political power preceding him.

The territory of the British Empire is very nearly double what it was when Victoria ascended the throne, less than seventy years ago, being now more than thirteen millions of square miles.

That a kingdom so small as the British Isles should have recovered in so short a time from the shock which severed from her throne thirteen of her best and most promising colonies, and gone right on, almost as if nothing at all had happened, is one of the most marvellous things recorded respecting human government.

How can we account for this amazing fact? She learned from the severe lesson better how to govern.

From thence onward she hath so well learned how that her law-abiding subjects know not that they are governed, which is the happy condition of those who enjoy the highest form of freedom.

Her population, now four hundred millions, has more than doubled in seventy years.

Her trade! With all nations she need not fear to compare notes. If any other has had any show in successful competition, it is her own children in blood and tongue, and they have been largely aided in the struggle by capital and enterprise of her own furnishing.

Her commerce in 1837 was not above one hundred and twenty millions sterling, or six hundred millions

of dollars. In A.D. 1907, it is over £1,000,000,000, or \$5,000,000,000!

Who would not be proud of such a record for those wonderful little islands in less than three-quarters of a century!

If all this had been accomplished in a large unbroken territory, like that of Russia or the United States of America, it would not be so great a marvel.

Our admiration is augmented almost beyond measure when we come to see that this work of Empire building, by territorial extension and trade and industrial development, with the civilizing influences of education and better government for men of all conditions has been carried on in all parts of the world under the control of one political organization.

Long years ago the poet mournfully sang:

"Lands intersected by a narrow frith abhor each other;
Mountains interposed make enemies of nations
Who had else, like kindred drops,
Been mingled into one."

Under the benign influence of British institutions and government, lands widely sundered by vast oceans and degrees of latitude and longitude are daily learning more perfectly the principles of common brotherhood.

Can these widely separated parts be brought nearer and more perfectly welded into one? This is what is meant by "Imperial Federation."

I borrow two illustrations from Holy Writ, the first from Ezekiel. In the vision of the bones in the valley the chiefest of the features of those bones was their disjointedness.

Chemically considered, they were alike. Their conditions were all of one sort. But they were helpless and hopelessly weak because asunder. No bone was joined to bone for mutual help and profit.

When the seer prophesied, as commanded, "the bones came together, bone to bone, and the flesh came upon them, and the skin covered them."

The seer prophesied again, and "breath came into them, and they lived"; and then the bones which had been weak and helpless, because disjointed, became "an exceeding great army," an emblem of unity, force and conquest.

My second illustration is from St. Paul, who compared the Church to a human body, where bone joined bone, covered with flesh and sinew and skin, but where the lesson of common sympathy and helpfulness must be learned and daily observed.

The eye cannot say to the ear, "I have no need of you."

If the Isle of Wight with its handful of sedentary militia and local constabulary, aided by civilians, beat back and prevented the landing of a strong French force upon its coasts, from whence a base might have been acquired for a successful attack on England, the mailed fist of those larger islands could no longer say, if they ever were so disposed to say, to the littlest finger, the Isle of Wight, "I have no need of you."

If the very strongest part of any chain is the weakest link, like the philosophical deacon in the construction of the "wonderful one hoss shay," "just make that weakest place as strong as the rest,

and you have it, don't you see?" says the deacon. "And so axle and felloe, and hub and thills, worked as one, no end of time, because by wisdom and common sense they had been woven as one into a sympathetic unit, interested in common, everywhere strong, all into one united 'wonderful one hoss shay.'"

"The foot cannot say to the hand," says Paul, "I have no need of you."

Give men a common interest and you create at once a common sympathy, albeit it is no detriment to teach the lesson everywhere. So Paul desired; but how can you teach the lesson well without putting men on some common footing, which Imperial Federation will do as nothing else can.

When this great question first began to be agitated in Canada, one of our papers said, in a lengthy editorial, "Imperial Federation is a glorious dream which never can be realized," but glorious dreams have been realized and are being realized.

Babylon's king had a very glorious dream which looked to people of his day, and to some people yet, if we let Daniel interpret it, impossible of realization, as much so as British Imperial Federation, yet there are a good many people who think that Nebuchadnezzar's glorious dream will be one day realized; and there are some of us who think that the dream of British Imperial Federation will have a good deal to do with the hastening to a consummation the glorious dream of Babylon's king. At any rate, that is the only reason why these lines are being written.

When I read that editorial, I shut my eyes, and when I shut my eyes, what do you think I saw?

I saw an old warrior sitting on a stone at the wayside, fainting, bleeding, slowly dying. What had he been doing? He had been fighting for years to keep a king on the seventh part of England.

I said, "My dear man, don't you think the day will sometime come when all these kingdoms will be federated into one, and from Tweedmouth to Land's End all will together sing 'God Save Our Glorious King'?" The poor old dying heptarch said, "Oh, man, that is a glorious dream, but it never can be realized." But it was not long till the impossible was done. It was realized.

I stood later on the field of Bannockburn, where many thousands of English fell, and only four thousand Scots under the leadership of the immortal Bruce, and I saw an old Scottish laddie sitting on a hillock, bleeding and faint with fighting, and I said, "Don't you think, my dear laddie, the day will sometime come when this beautiful land of the heather, with the sister island you are now fighting, with that still more beautiful emerald out in the sea, will be federated into one kingdom, and all will be joined in carrying on a common commerce, and a common civilization to the ends of the earth, and all will sing as one, 'God Save Our Gracious Queen'?" And the poor old dying laddie, who faithfully and well had performed his part in the great drama, said, "Eh, mon! Yon's a glorious dream, wha never can be realized."

But all this has been realized along lines of federa-

tion. Our grandfathers did it, impossible as it seemed, at the mouth of the cannon and the point of the sword.

I should be ashamed to think that the work our fathers so devotedly and self-denyingly began, laying down their treasure and their lives to do it, could not be consummated by the exercise of a little patient paper diplomacy. If it cannot be so done, then such children are not worthy scions of such fathers.

Imperial Federation is but to perfect the work which has been a-doing for hundreds of years. It is the fruition of a tree growing in a rich soil from humblest beginning.

It is only putting on the keystone to an arch a long time in building.

Political federation of states holding the same political sentiments in common is the man matured from the simplicity of childhood.

Let us then begin in the simplest way, with the simplest rules and simplest things in political economy, and work up, step by step, to the grand climax and consummation of Imperial Federation.

Here is a village with one thousand inhabitants. These people need sidewalks, or, as they say in England, "footpaths," or a pound for stray animals, or a school, or all of these. Well, if they need sidewalks, or a public pound, or a school for their children, let them turn out and construct them. Strong men can dig and lay the foundation. Weaker men can saw boards, women can cook their dinner, or bring them water, and the children can carry nails. It is their own affair.

Let them all turn out and do it. Thus it hath been done in some parts of the world in some ages of time.

But they think they can do better. Well?

They suggest a meeting at which they will choose five men to look af'er these matters for the whole population, and they are all perfectly willing to pay, each something, to have it done by men hired for the purpose, under the supervision and direction of these five elected men.

Here you have the beginning of parliaments—the first parliament of the world—the village council.

It is worthy of our attention and respect, because it comes a little nearer to us than any other in our daily wants and humbler experiences. It brings the advantages of civilization to our threshold and our individual life.

No sooner, however, are we in possession of the advantages of good footpaths, or sidewalks, and other things of a humbler sort, than we discover that our wants reach wider out than the line fence of our little corporation.

Well, what do we want now? We want good roads, that we may go to other villages or parts of the country for the purposes of trade or pleasure. If this thousand people of our initial village want good roads to other points, why not turn out and make them, or set their parliament at work upon them? Here is a new and larger matter than their sidewalk or public pound. A need, it's true, of which they feel the want, but which lies in its largeness much beyond them.

What is to be done to meet the case?

Take this village and the next, and a dozen more, with the territory intervening, and federate them into a township. Then you must have another parliament with larger powers, because it has much larger responsibilities and larger duties to perform.

We soon find that our wants are wider far than the boundary of any village or township. These smaller corporations, for the purpose of meeting extended wants and greater trade conveniences and social intercourse and pleasure, we federate into a county, which also must have its parliament, or, as we usually say, "county council."

Like those of smaller territory, or corporation, each parliament deals solely with those interests which are circumscribed by the line fence of its own territory. All such interests we call "local."

No county council can interfere, or dares to interfere with those things which pertain solely to another county—things strictly "local." The parliament, or council, of Lincoln possesses no right, and has no power to dictate in any sense to the county of Wentworth concerning strictly local matters.

It is no concern of the one county whether the bridges across wide streams shall be constructed of steel or of wood, or whether the county public buildings shall be made of brick or of stone.

The matter is one of importance, because the same principle is to hold through the entire series of corporations and councils.

"Hands off!" we say to all outsiders, respecting local affairs. The rule holds in dealing with the af-

fairs of the village as rigidly as in dealing with the affairs of the province or the Dominion.

Within the bounds of each territory or federation, there must be the most absolute independence respecting all matters which pertain solely to such territory. If we could restrict our wants to the limits of any one of these corporations we might be independent of all others, but human wants and desires and ambitions require wide space, and it is not easy to chain the human mind wholly to anything of limited nature, so our wants go on expanding in spite of us. However, it is well we may be independent somewhat and somewhere, and so we claim to be independent respecting those matters which pertain only to that little portion of the earth in which we are most interested, whether it be our village, or Province, or Dominion.

It is by means of federation and the creation of councils clothed with adequate powers throughout the series we have risen from the village to the Dominion, each council or parliament being instructed by the people respecting the scope of its authority and its functions. The village council is not asked nor authorized to construct public highways. It has neither any legal power nor any means for such enterprises. Its functions are limited to the bounds of its municipality, but here it is supreme.

The county council or parliament, while fully authorized by all the people within this larger federation to construct and improve public highways and all other such wants, possesses no authority or means for the construction and equipment of railways

or electric lines and other common wants of like nature, which are usually too large to be limited to counties or villages. Respecting such wants and interests as are limited to the county, however, the county council is supreme and independent.

I have dwelt at some length on this point because of the importance of the principle involved, and because of its relationship to the higher or larger federations. Perhaps some reader will say, "We have now too many parliaments. We are too much governed." I shall not enter into any argument as to that. I assume that the system as we have it is wise because it is the product of the intelligence of the people, and because the people are not apparently disposed to change it. I think, however, to perfect the system in its application to a vast and widely scattered Empire, another parliament is needed and I fear without it the vast fabric built up at so much cost will some day fall, which I presume we should all deplore.

I have said that so soon as the outlying portions of the Empire outnumber along the Anglo-Saxon line the mother land, in their populations, the greater will not be controlled or governed by the less. Crumbling and disintegration will begin because the arch lacks its keystone.

To follow the series through from the village to the Dominion, each federation through its parliament performing its very natural and necessary functions for the general good, does it not seem an anomaly that the Empire should be the only one of all the series which has no parliament?

If it is very clear that there are common wants which the village council or the county council has no power to supply, are there not also in so vast and wide an Empire common wants which no Dominion even can supply?

Let the rule which has been observed so far in regard to the British Empire, but which will not suffice much farther, I fear, be applied to the management of one of our counties, without a county council, that is, by one of the townships more early settled and with larger population. Or, perhaps, better still, let the several provinces of our Dominion be under the management or control of our oldest province, more densely populated, and though it might suffice for a while, how long would your Dominion federation hold without a Dominion parliament? Just as soon as the newer provinces became settled with intelligent men and business enterprises began to spring up, and provincial populations increased, your Dominion could not possibly continue for a decade without a parliament composed of delegates or representatives from all the several provinces.

The Dominion parliament is the keystone which solidifies and renders compact as one whole the several parts, though in many ways these several parts may be diversified in their natural features, productions and climates, and general popular necessities. They all have some common wants which no fractional legislature can supply. By means of their parliament in which all parts are represented, those common wants may be by federal legislation met,

and by means of a parliament so composed all are bound into one and their unity preserved.

The British Empire as yet, has never had an Imperial Parliament. Such a term applied to the lawmakers at Westminster is altogether a misnomer. The term "Home Government," applied to those offices which look after the larger interests of the colonies, is the only correct description of our British Imperial authorities.

By an "Imperial Parliament" we must mean, to be accurate, a parliament elected by the Empire, or "Imperium." Is the parliament at Westminster so elected? Would it be possible for us to have a satisfactory and effective Dominion or provincial parliament in which the greater number of the provinces, or of the counties, were not represented? Nothing could induce us to call such an assemblage of men a Dominion or provincial parliament.

No words or terms or expressions we can possibly employ are too expressive or too strong to represent our admiration for those noble men who for the past thousand years have brought the British Empire to what it is. Who can adequately measure the devotion and self-sacrifice on the part of all those who on sea or land have played so well their part in this great drama? Whatever may be our varied opinions as regards the most certain means of perpetuating the prestige and permanency of the dear old mother land which has done so much to make for millions of us life worth living, so prosperous, so pleasant and so safe, all are of one mind in their good wishes for her prosperity and her time-long permanency.

These lines are written with the sole desire and sincerest hope that they may contribute something towards an end so desirable. My suggestions and my arguments are drawn from the analogy of federations of lower degree, which have not only proved successful in their operation, but which have proved themselves as absolutely necessary for the social welfare and commercial prosperity of the people.

The Empire must also have its parliament. The analogy drawn from the conditions and successes of the lesser federations teaches us that such a parliament for the successful accomplishment of the great purpose of the Empire must be composed of representatives elected or appointed from all parts of the Empire.

AN IMPERIAL HOUSE.

Figures here given are intended only for illustration. For this purpose only, then, let me suggest ten from the federated provinces of America; ten from the federated colonies of Australia; twenty from India, of whom ten should be of Indian blood; ten from federated Africa; from ten to twenty to represent scattered parts of the Empire too far separated, perhaps, to become federated. To the old mother land, the United Kingdom, I would give a larger representation than I would give to any other portion of the Empire, making a house composed of one hundred members in all. These numbers may be doubled if that be thought wiser. A house so composed would make an end once and forever of all dependencies.

DEPENDENCY.

That word "dependency" is not a pleasant word in the estimation of British subjects born and reared, or otherwise domiciled in portions of the Empire beyond the seas. Nor is it a desirable word either in its description of men such as all Britons should be. It smacks too much of the nursery or the kindergarten, both of which, no doubt, have had their place in the history of the family. But surely it could not be that they were to be continued when the sons have outgrown the parents.

Think of Canada and Australia, each with territory nearly forty times that of the British Isles, being written down in the books as "federated dependencies" to a little group of islands which could be dropped forever out of sight in one of their big lakes.

How long will our children submit to be counted "dependents" when they outnumber in population the mother land? A great flock of goslings "dependent" on a very little bantam for protection! Will they forever be dependent? I fear when they are grown they will not be that sort of geese!

The old woman who lived in the shoe is to be envied when her condition is compared with that of England a few years hence, if steps be not taken soon to consolidate the Empire by federation. Every intelligent subject of the Empire would feel the thrill of a loftier manhood when he could be no longer referred to or thought of as dwelling within a "dependency." Then

No fraction of the realm contracts our powers,
For the whole broad Imperium is ours.

No premium could be put upon the head of any one, merely because he has had birth and education and home in one part of the great Empire, while some other is discounted because by birth or residence he belongs to some other part. British federation would put all Britishers on a common level. All, *ceteris paribus*, would have one common recognition.

Some things reckoned among our many wants in so vast an Empire reach so far beyond our humblest wants in the village or county, that they reach beyond even the Dominion, or commonwealth, *e.g.*,

A COMMON COINAGE.

As that first parliament of all, the village council, has no authority or power to construct highways, and no authority to do any other thing beyond the bounds of its own corporation, so no province or Dominion, or even what is known as "The United Kingdom," has any authority or power to create and establish a common coinage for the whole Empire. Yet a common coinage, if not absolutely needed, would certainly be, by far, more convenient and satisfactory, or, perhaps, some day a positive necessity.

Every year world-wide travelling increases. It seems very queer to a British subject to sail into a British port, as in India or Ceylon, and receive in exchange for his British gold, silver pieces as the "rupee," or "anna," which he cannot use in another British

port one or two thousand miles further on, though they may bear on their more important face a representation of the honored sovereign of the Empire. A ten-cent piece from the Straits Settlements, though it bear the most perfect medallion of our glorious Queen Victoria, will not be accepted in any place of business, or even at the postoffice in Victoria, B.C., while a greasy Yankee nickel will be taken at par. A good honest British shilling offered for any purchase in the shops of Montreal must be discounted twenty per cent., while just as honest and a little more valuable Canadian quarter or a dollar will be refused in any shop in Liverpool, Manchester or London.

In addition to the very great inconvenience of travellers, what makes the case almost absurdly ridiculous is the fact that all these coins were manufactured at the London British Mint—a serio-comic affair in very truth. Of all the absurd coinage ever invented the British currency caps the climax. As I have said in some of my addresses in England, “If you don’t believe it, gentlemen, ask that boy in front of me here to tell you what is the interest at four and three-quarters per cent. on nineteen pounds, seventeen shillings and eleven pence three farthings” (£19 17s. 11 3-4d.) A string of vulgar fractions from end to end. Compare above example with its equivalent, \$96.50. If we had a Federal Imperial parliament we might have a decimal, or certainly a common coinage for the whole Empire, which there is at present small hope of our ever securing, as things are now, for no one at all has any authority. If we had a decimal currency why might we not have many other things

along decimal lines? Why may not ten grains make a pennyweight, ten pennyweights make an ounce, ten ounces a pound, ten pounds a stone, and ten stones a hundred?

I am quite well aware that many very reasonable things may be said in favor of the present conditions, and some very intelligent account may be given for the existence of the British currency as it is, and for tables of weights and measures as they are; yet, if all would agree to lay aside, as far as possible, old systems involving endless vulgar fractions, and adapt as far as it is possible, the decimal system, our children would perform their difficult and now tedious work in our schools in one-tenth the time now required, and secure nine-tenths of their time for getting a larger knowledge of history, chemistry, art and music.

It is true that all this might be brought about in time by conventions and delegations and mutual agreements after almost endless negotiations. Admitting it, I fear, as I have said, without the keystone of Imperial Federation for the arch, it may, great and grand as it is, fall to pieces before such an end, though so desirable, can be reached.

If I had the making of a new and a decimal coinage for the Empire, I would lift the British sovereign up to an exact equivalent of the American five-dollar piece, and make lesser coins tally along decimal lines. That would add greatly to the convenience of travellers, as well as more largely to the convenience of exchange.

POSTAGE.

There is the necessity, also, for a uniform postage system for the whole Empire. Much has been done of late, it is true, to improve postal conditions, so that the grievances along this line are not so great as they were down to five or six years ago. New conditions are constantly appearing and will continue to do so for years to come. Here, too, the usual tardiness must vex all concerned so long as improvements can be had only through the negotiations of temporary officials, instead of authorized representatives in an Imperial House.

It is not possible in so small a space as this work offers to dwell at any length on all the matters which must engage the attention of a house composed of representatives from every part of the Empire, whose only business it is to deal with such things as reach beyond villages, counties, provinces, and commonwealths and Dominions. I cannot do more than name these or such of them as just now occur to my mind. Some even of these may be considered in the final arrangement, as not properly Imperial matters, and, therefore, to be dealt with by lesser legislatures. For the more satisfactory government of the Empire, an Imperial Parliament should deal with such matters as the crown, vice-royalty and dignities, foreign relations, army and navy, peace and war, weights and measures, copyrights and trade-marks, navigation, commercial law, treason, quarantine, uniform marriage and divorce. These are given only

as illustrating the variety of subjects to be dealt with. There may be others which may require the attention of a house dealing with matters too big for adjustment by any legislative organization falling short of the utmost bounds of so vast an Empire.

The failure of the late convention of Premiers at London (May, 1907) to accomplish anything at all satisfactory, and the evils which may all too speedily follow, unless such a House as is here suggested be soon constituted, may be painfully foreseen in the following cable message from London:

UNFAIRLY TREATED AT CONFER-

ENCE.

AUSTRALIAN MINISTER VOICES
THE COLONIAL RESENTMENT.

A POOR OFFICIAL SUMMARY.

SPEECHES OF BRITISH MINISTERS GIVEN
PRE-EMINENCE—FEELING OF KIN-
SHIP WILL GROW LESS.

London, May 17.—The irritation of the colonial Prime Ministers with the Government was further voiced yesterday by Sir William Lyne, Minister of State for Trade and Customs in Australia, who, in an address to the Australian Chamber of Commerce in London, complained that they had been treated unfairly at the conference.

The Government's action, he said, had been negative throughout. It had negatived everything the colonial representatives wanted the Government to do. He complained that the press was excluded from the conference against the wishes of a majority of the

members, and the Government had issued to the public only just what it wished to have published. It was remarkable, he said, that the daily official summary gave a good *resume* of the speeches of the Imperial Ministers and a bad one of the others.

Two of the Ministers—Messrs. Asquith and Churchill—he said, had adopted an almost offensive attitude towards the Prime Ministers. Mr. Lloyd-George was the most reasonable Minister they had to deal with. Sir William declared that, *as a new generation arose in the colonies, they would lose the feeling of kinship with Great Britain*, unless something was done to sustain it by interchange of commerce and a quickening of means of communication.

Sir William said, in conclusion, that the representatives from Australia would return home with a feeling of great disappointment.—*Mail and Empire*.

DEAKIN ON CONFERENCE

London, May 20.—Premier Deakin, interviewed prior to his departure to-day for Australia, was asked whether the result of the conference had come up to his expectations.

He replied: "If you mean by results the resolutions which have been unanimously passed at the conference, I should be obliged to say 'no,' because on several most important subjects we not only failed to induce acceptance of our proposals, but even to receive definite approach towards them."—*Mail and Empire*.

The following letter I wrote for one of our papers over a year ago. Though some of the matters it treats of are referred to elsewhere in my brochure, I insert it just as it occurred to me at that time:

BRITISH NAVY AND FEDERATION

SIR :—

There are many things pertaining to the present and future welfare of our great Empire which, I think, could be more easily adjusted if the Empire were Imperially federated.

The Empire lacks a parliament possessing powers to put in, here and there, a necessary wheel, to make the vast machinery move more smoothly and more effectively ; to put it in, I mean, without provoking delay.

A few years ago, Australia was apparently on the thin edge of rebellion, judging from the spirit manifested by the local parliaments and the press. The present premier, Mr. Deakin, representing an indignant people, went to London, and after many appeals had been made through the press and parliamentary resolutions, all, apparently, without effect, talked to Lord Salisbury, it was said, as no colonial representative ever talked to a British premier before.

The Germans were putting down their very worst criminals in New Guinea, and the French dumping convicts by the hundred in New Hebrides, to the very great danger of Australia, which had spent tens of thousands of pounds in getting rid of a notorious gang of thieves and highwaymen, and they naturally asked if this thing was to last forever, as seemed probable, if these convicts were to be dropped at their door continually.

Well, why did not the Home Government attend to it sooner, and send in their protest to Germany and France long before they did, as requested by the Australians? Simply because their hands were so full of local matters they could not find time to attend to it. Much dissatisfaction has arisen in all parts of the Empire, occasionally, for the very same reason.

There are some things which are wider than locality, wide as the Empire itself.

Matters which go no farther than the line fence of the county, province or Dominion should be left for adjustment by the authorities chosen of the people of those smaller territories. There are limited matters having little or nothing to do with the Empire as a whole, any more than whether a county council shall construct a wooden or steel bridge across a stream in their county has to do with the affairs of the Dominion as a whole. What county council of Ontario would for one moment permit the Dominion government or parliament to dictate to them what kind of a bridge should be constructed in their locality, unless, indeed, the higher parliament would be willing to bear all the expense, and even then, in most cases, I fancy, the principle itself would be objected to as an interference with local affairs.

Good government demands that things wholly and solely local must be managed by local authorities, provided and appointed by the people of the prescribed locality. Outside of these affairs, those matters which are naturally and necessarily supra-local must be adjusted and controlled by larger organization, or councils to whom adequate powers are given by the people for this purpose. Such things as reach beyond any county, province, Dominion or commonwealth can only be satisfactorily arranged by an Imperial council or parliament, and as yet this Britain has never had.

Things cannot go on as they are. This council or parliament must be created or there will some day be trouble. It is to avoid this a few persons are very anxious the matter should be settled soon. It is easier to do it now than later. As soon as the outlying parts of the Empire outnumber the population of the mother land, the greater will not submit to be controlled by the less, and if trouble should come before adjustment can be made, there may be disintegration, the very possibility of which

every true Britisher must deplore. Britain has no Imperial parliament, and never has had. She has a "Home Government," and that is all that in strict justice to the meaning of words and fundamental principles can be said.

To illustrate, let me suppose that in 1867, on account of small populations in the other provinces, Ontario, because the largest and most wealthy and prosperous, was permitted to exercise a motherly control, not only absolutely and exclusively over her own affairs but over the whole. How long would the other provinces have consented to be tied by her motherly apron strings? Had the matter not been popularly arranged at the beginning, or adjusted early in the history of our Dominion, the entire fabric would have fallen to pieces long before now.

It has been said by some that England never will consent to admit colonial representatives to her home parliament. Who, having a proper idea of this question, asks such a thing? It is not at all a thing to be desired. That could not settle these matters. The house, as now constituted at Westminster, is a local house, wholly and solely. It is composed of men chosen and elected by the people of a small group of islands known as "The British Isles." They are elected for local purposes. These interests usually absorb the most of their brain power, time and attention. Because of small populations in possessions beyond the seas, they have been, by common consent, permitted to exercise parental control over these dependencies, infantile colonies and embryo nationalities. But will these embryos, infants and children, needing for considerable time parental care and expense, always remain in a state or condition of tutelage? The Home Government is worthy of much praise. It has played, since the reign of George III., a noble part in dealing with colonies, and one cannot sound the praise of the mother land more loudly than she justly

deserves. The British taxpayer begins to feel, however, that he has been a patient beast of burden long enough. The galled jade begins to wince. Must he always pay the piper to the tune of one hundred and fifty millions per annum for a navy to protect the whole Empire? Correct! I am glad he is waking up. Perhaps, now something worthy of a great Empire will be done.

But what is to be done? Demand that the colonies contribute to help the British taxpayer meet the expense of the navy? That lands you exactly where you were one hundred and fifty years ago. So far as the payment of the money goes, what is the difference between supporting the navy one hundred and fifty years ago in time of war and now in time of peace? Our brethren a century and a half back would not submit to be taxed without representation. It has been better for all Britishers beyond the seas that they did not. The old land learned a lesson not yet forgotten. I hope Canadians have as much of the true spirit of liberty as colonial Britishers had in those days. They have only to stand firm and there will be an adjustment of Imperial affairs which will be far better for the Empire and our children than present conditions warrant.

It is but just the colonies should assist in supporting the navy so long as the navy is a benefit to the colonies. We are not gainers by having our expenses paid by other people. Don't be a pauper till you have to. But don't pay without a share in the management. That keeps the analogy of the different grades of federation complete. That matters little if it were not that a great principle is involved—one of the fundamental principles of genuine liberty.

But we are told that as the colonies are not represented in a central council, or parliament, they are only to be requested to help to support the navy. Well, if that isn't building up an empire on the uncertainties

of mere sufferance, then we know not the meaning of the word.

It is a dangerous experiment to leave a matter of vast importance in such shape that it may be bandied about by every conscienceless politician at the annual or quadrennial elections.

An empire depending for its existence on mere good will and gratitude is "a bowing wall and tottering fence," in a world where ill will is so easily aroused, and where ingratitude so largely prevails.

St. Catharines, Nov. 1, 1905.

FREE TRADE.

By means of Imperial Federation we might secure that very desirable thing, universal free trade.

Free trade is in harmony with natural law, and the world will some day adopt it as a universal policy.

I say it is in harmony with natural law, for if Providence has made lemons, oranges, pineapples, sugar and bananas to grow in those parts of the world near the equator, and wheat, corn, peas and potatoes in other parts, nearer to the poles, He evidently intended that men should travel over the intervening space and exchange freely these varied productions. If, however, those of the warmer climates decide to put up a wall against those of the more temperate regions, I don't think it the wisest thing in the world to commit national commercial suicide for the mere sake of sentiment.

If the principles of free trade had been engraven on stone, as were the sentiments of the moral law, we might have been bound under all conditions to observe them, but as they were not so given us, we are not, I presume, under obligations to so rigidly ob-

serve and enforce them. God leaves a margin for man's varied and varying conditions. Locks on our doors, and the bars and bolts of our jails are against natural law, seeing especially that these things are against our brother, but if the hardness of our brother's heart forces us to resort to such things by way of protecting ourselves against wrong, we do not hesitate to adopt methods which may be unnatural until our race is lifted up to higher and nobler conditions.

The British Isles, or the United Kingdom, has not, I think, pursued the very wisest course, if its desire has been, as a mere academic matter, to extend the principles of free trade among the nations. Are these principles more widespread than they were forty or fifty years ago? It seems to me they are less observed among nearly all the nations of the world.

If I had the power I would federate the Empire, establish free trade throughout the whole, then put up a barrier against every other nation in exact proportion to the barrier erected against ourselves. The result would be, the principles of free trade would be forced upon the world in a very few years. No empire, or kingdom, or republic could more easily live within itself than the British Empire. We have every kind of soil and climate and production known to humanity. If the world is unwilling to trade freely with us, we, of all people, could afford to be absolutely independent of the race, but Britons have no such desire. None that live are more disposed to be neighborly and brotherly.

I think that the plan above proposed would hasten forward the principles of universal free trade, and, therefore, as well, the reign of universal brotherhood.

It is thought by some of the political leaders in the British Isles that the principle of protection, even to the extent of favoring the colonies of Britain against foreign nations, would increase the cost of living. It will bear looking into for a minute or two. The cost of protection does not always fall upon the consumer. In fact, protection sometimes, at least, reduces the cost of life's necessities to the consumer. Five cents per bushel against American and Russian wheat in favor of her colonies need not at all raise the price of bread in England, as the tax is more likely to come out of the pocket of the producer than out of that of the consumer. Besides, just as soon as her colonies can produce all she needs the matter stands exactly as it is now. So soon as the colonies would be in a condition to supply the wants of the mother land, which a preferential tariff would speedily enable them to do, it would matter little to the mother land from whence the supplies came, so long as they were sufficient.

In the event of a great war in which the United Kingdom had to defend herself against the principal nations of the world, it would be to her an immense advantage to have colonies abundantly able to supply all her wants without her being in the least degree dependent on foreign nations for those supplies, as she now is. By permitting all nations to send in, not only natural products, but manufactured goods as well, many of her people are robbed of the opportu-

ity of earning a livelihood for themselves, by reason of millions of pounds' worth of goods made in other countries which might be manufactured by her own people if some of the necessary industries were protected from foreign competition.

If it is found that pauperism in the British Isles prevails more largely than it needs to do, or ought to do, would it not be wiser, admitting that the cost of living would be higher, to give every man the opportunity to earn a living, than it is to make every seventh or eighth man a pauper for the sake of giving a cheaper loaf to the other seven, and then taxing the seven to support in the poorhouse the unfortunate who can get no employment, because of unrestricted foreign competition? The volume of pauperism in the British Isles is not so much lessened by free trade as it is by emigration. This is England's greatest safety valve.

WHY THOUSANDS ARE LEAVING THE OLD COUNTRY.

THEY CANNOT OBTAIN WORK OR EARN A FAIR LIVING.

The year of grace nineteen hundred and seven is proving itself the supreme emigration season for this generation at least, writes F. A. Mackenzie, in the *London Daily Mail*. It is a year of record good trade and of record prosperity. The Board of Trade returns month by month surmount their former high-water mark. Each penny on the pound in the income tax yields more than ever before. Our national wealth is growing by leaps and bounds, and so, we are told, all must be well with us.

And yet in this red-letter period of

national well-being more people are leaving our shores than have done so at any time in recent years. They are leaving because either they cannot earn a fair living at home or they cannot obtain any employment at all.—*Toronto Globe*, June 29, 1907.

I think you will find, if you look into it, that nearly all the clocks of more recent date in England are made in Germany, and so it may be said of many things of the more common sort. Pictures and prints of the cheaper kind are marked "Made in Germany."

However, I am quite content to leave the adjustment of all these matters to an Imperial House. After federation, the various parts of the Empire might find some difficulty in satisfactorily arranging every detail. Some things are difficult of adjustment in such cases. It has been ever so. But, as a rule, some feasible way has always opened, and it is seldom we hear of federations sincerely formed falling to pieces. The same common sense which suggested and carried forward to completion any movement so desirable as the welding together into closer union hundreds or thousands or millions of our race for mutual benefit and the advancement of the best interests of mankind, has seldom failed to steer through difficulties which at the first seemed impassable.

I am not an advocate of protection. I prefer the principles of free trade. If, however, Britain's policy for fifty years past has not advanced free trade one iota among the nations, but rather retarded the ultimate adoption of those principles, then I would try some other plan. To argue that the United Kingdom has greatly prospered under free trade has no

force at all against the principle of protection, when we remember that America has been more prosperous under protection.

Some think it necessary for England to keep on good terms with other nations by giving them free access to her markets, that her products may be accepted by the foreigners in return. But how about America? It has done all it can do to keep British goods out, taxing them to the tune of 70 per cent. It dares not put its tariff higher.

If the British Isles had not been relieved by a large yearly emigration, millions more of their population would have been in the most pitiable poverty.

The United Kingdom is not absolutely a free trade country. It collects as "customs" a little over \$150,000,000 a year. It collects twelve cents a pound on tea, which has become almost as much a necessity for the poor man as bread. Why not for a colonial preference put a small burden on bread, if need be, and remove it entirely from tea?

If all the world, however, would adopt this great and, what appears to be, natural principle, and permit manufacturing, agriculture, herding and horticulture and art to be controlled by social, soil and climatic conditions, there would be, I think, a universal opportunity for all men to live and find happiness in our world, without our feeling it necessary to resort to barrier methods against our brothers. While the laws of political economy and trade regulations continue as now, there is much to be said in favor of the principle of protection, at least, as a temporary policy.

Suppose 100,000 mowing machines are wanted by the farmers of one of our provinces. The price charged by our manufacturers is, say, \$100, while a foreign article might be furnished for \$90. Which one of all those farmers, if the matter were explained and then left wholly to him, would consent to send \$9,000,000 out of his own locality to be circulated elsewhere, for the mere sake of retaining, or putting into individual pocket, a paltry ten-dollar bill?

The man who sets himself persistently against protection under all conditions is favoring the forcing out of his own country millions of money which would circulate among his own citizens by a wise protection of industries. Where the ordinary individual sees no further than the saving or the gaining of \$10 for himself, regardless of consequences, it is the business of the statesman, or of the serious and honest politician to think for him, for if that \$9,000,000 could have been retained and kept in circulation in his own country, he would have himself benefited by its circulation, among his neighbors and himself, quite to the extent of even more than \$10. Opponents of protection ask, why should manufacturers be made rich at the expense of the people? Well, if you do not protect your own industries you simply send your money away to enrich men in foreign countries.

Tens of thousands of people in the British Isles suffer by reason of the withdrawal of millions of pounds sterling into foreign countries, which might be retained among themselves if industries for the laboring man and artisan were protected against competition by nations which take advantage of

Britain's largeness and goodness of heart in following so closely a noble principle without securing from the nations an adequate reciprocity. Her action, if considered as an academic experiment, was well meant, but its continuance at the expense of millions of her people is not well advised. She has honestly tried to teach the world a great and very useful lesson, but has mournfully failed, because other nations, taking advantage of her good nature, have aimed at profiting, at sad cost to millions of her people, by her wide-open doors to the nations who have all closed their doors against her because they have failed to appreciate her honest and sincere intentions.

It is the duty of every government to do its very best for its own people. 'The people often suffer, for a time at least, because of strong partizan prejudices on the part of politicians who often hold opinions, not for conscience' but for party's sake.

But someone says there is nothing merely academic about it. "Britain found it wise policy and continued it as such."

Times have greatly changed in fifty years. She is not, as formerly, the great manufacturing centre of the civilized world. Other nations have learned the art and formed the habit, and she may lose her place if she change not her policy, at least, somewhat.

I have suggested what I think would be a wise plan to bring the nations to their senses. If my suggestions be wise, it is for wiser men to say. I am content. I have no ends at all to serve but the preservation and enlargement of the British Empire in wealth

and in intelligence and usefulness as a great world civilizer.

Palsied be the hand that would hinder, unworthy the man who neglects to assist in a cause so worthy. If my brochure is unworthy of the attention of the politician and statesman, and my thoughts unworthy of a place among those who labor for so noble an end as the strengthening and perpetuation of the British Empire, to the end of time, I am content to have done my best with honest intent, and leave the whole matter to wiser men, and men of larger influence, with sincere prayer that Britain's God may lead them by wiser methods to that which I so sincerely desire, but which I might fail to secure by my methods if mine are less wise than theirs. My methods and opinions are nothing; my desires for the Empire everything. The Empire is first and altogether chief. My opinions, the ablative case, away down: the keel of the ship is seldom thought of.

God bless and preserve the Empire.

The scribbler be hanged if the reader wishes it so. Many a man has been hanged for a cause less deserving.

IRELAND.

Through Imperial Federation Irish affairs might be more easily adjusted.

Ireland ought to have full control of all those matters which concern only herself. It has been assumed all along that this principle prevails from the lowest

to the highest degree, whatever the extent of the federation.

The difficulty in the case of Ireland is the very strong objection, especially on the part of England, to Ireland being permitted to manage her own affairs in her own parliament, or council, and then also take part in the management of English and Scotch affairs as well.

To get around this difficulty, Mr. Gladstone, in his first Irish measure, proposed to dismiss Irish representatives from Westminster altogether, giving Ireland, with full power to rule her home affairs, absolute separation from the other parts of the kingdom. This looked like the beginning of the disintegration of the Empire. Then Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain and other foremost men in the Liberal party turned from their leader.

If there were an Imperial House, Ireland might be granted full power over all her local matters, and yet be held to the Empire constitutionally, by having representatives in the Imperial House to aid in the working out and adjustment of all those things such as are named in the preceding pages, matters as broad as the Empire itself, too broad to be classified as fractional and local.

I think it has been understood all along that Ireland has never asked for more than control of her local affairs. To this, I think, she is justly entitled, but this can never be obtained until a parliament exists which has power and authority to deal exclusively with matters wholly Imperial, in which Irish repre-

sentatives would have place, and by this strong bond Ireland would be held for ever an integral part of the Empire.

In addition to the manifest absurdity and injustice of permitting Ireland to control her own affairs while having also a voice in the management of the affairs of the remaining two-thirds of the kingdom, it was feared by many supporters of Mr. Gladstone that Ireland might become a base of attack on England by a foreign enemy co-operating with Ireland. While for the greater part Ireland is as loyal to the British throne as the other parts of the kingdom, the bare possibility of her being in a position to allow herself to be used by an enemy to endanger the peace of the other portions of the kingdom made it impossible for her to possess that complete independence which Mr. Gladstone's measure of 1886 proposed. Especially so, when it was remembered that, notwithstanding the very great loyalty and the distinguished usefulness of many of her illustrious sons, there always have been, at least, a few restless agitators who might give endless trouble if wholly separated from the other parts of the kingdom. If she were a thousand miles or more distant from England it would make a considerable difference in this respect. Her geographical position makes it necessary that she should be bound by stronger ties than those which hold Canada and Australia to the throne, at any rate so long as matters remain as they now are and have been for centuries past.

THE IRISH PARTY TO CONTINUE UNCOMPROMISING WARFARE.

London, June 11.—At a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary party in the House of Commons to-day it was decided to fight the Government, both in the House and in the constituencies, in order to punish the Liberals for failing to give Ireland a broader measure of Home Rule than contained in the rejected Irish Council Bill.

After the meeting had adjourned, John E. Redmond, in behalf of the Irish party, issued a long statement, concluding as follows:—

“Another proof has been afforded that Home Rule cannot be won by a policy of conciliation alone. It can be won only by hard fighting, vigorous agitation in Ireland, an active, disciplined party in the House of Commons, a thorough organization of the Irish vote in Great Britain and its use, absolutely independent of English party interests, to push forward the cause of Home Rule by taking every opportunity and every means offered in Ireland and in Great Britain to force upon public attention the grievances Ireland has suffered and the ruinous effects of British rule in that country.”

IRISH STILL HATE ENGLISH RULE.

(Associated Press Special to *Standard*.)

Dublin, June 24.—John E. Redmond delivered an address at Wexford yesterday, at the ceremony attending the unveiling of memorial to Wexfordians who fell at the battle of New Ross in 1798. He gave a definite warning to British statesmen, saying: “We tell England that we hate her rule as bitterly as did our forefathers when they shed their

blood on this spot. We tell her that we are as much rebels to her rule to-day as our forefathers were in '98. We tell her that she can change that hatred only by granting freedom, and so long as she withholds freedom it will remain merely a question of expediency how and by what means we will strike at the power that holds our country in bondage."

PROFISSEER MCSHANE.

"Wan toime in Watherford lived Profisser McShane.
The foinist ashtronomer iver was sane ;
For long before noight, wid the soince he knew,
Where wan shtar appeared, shure he could see two
 Quoit plane,
 Could Profisser McShane.

"More power to him, ivery noight as wud pass,
He'd sit by the windy a-shovin his glass,
A poke in the dipper, that plazed him the laste,
But a punch in the Milky Way just suited his taste.
 Small blame
 To his soul, for that same.

"Now, there happened in Watherford not long ago,
The loikes was niver heard tell of, I know,
Since Erin was under old Bryante Burhoime—
The sun was ayclipsed three days at wan toime.
 It's true
 As I tell it to you.

"'Twas sunroise long gone, but the sun never rose,
And ivry wan axed, phawt's the matther? God knows
The nixt day and the nixt, 'twas the very same way,
The noight was that long it was lastin' all day,
 As black
 As the coat on your back.

"The pape wint hunting Profisser McShane,
 To find if he'd know what this wnodher cud mane ;
 And he answered thim back : 'Are yez there ?
 A lot of ignorant gommicks ye are
 To ax
 For the plainest of facts.

"Yez belong to an Impoire, yez mustn't forgit,
 On which the sun's niver able to sit.
 Thin whoy should it give your Impoire a surprise
 If now and agin he refuses to rise ?'
 Sez Profisser McShane,
 The foinist ashtronomer iver was sane."

ENGLAND.

While federation as herein suggested would put all parts on precisely the same level in the constitution and in their relationship to the throne, I would vote Old England first place every time. I would do so because God has done so.

What other spot on this green earth has had such a place and such a history? How can it be accounted for? Or can it be accounted for at all? When we try to do so, we are poorly satisfied with even our very best attempt. Her very littleness geographically adds to her greatness, and makes us wonder all the more at her amazing success. Her territory is but a two hundred and fortieth part of the whole Empire. Her soil is not superior to other soils in general. Her climate is elsewhere surpassed. Her scenery is far outdone in many of her colonies. Her language is not at all the most beautiful in the world. Her

poets have been equalled, and her artists and scientists eclipsed in other parts of the Old World.

Notwithstanding all this, O Britannia, "many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

Take that language which has a grating sound to some very refined ears among the nations. It starts northward, and as soon as Providence makes for it a path, it rises superior to all other tongues, long spoken by the earlier races. All prejudices in their favor and all efforts to preserve them amount to nothing. Die they must, apparently, or die they do, certainly, and English words stand in their place because Providence and the people will have it so.

The tongue starts westward, and lo, a great continent falls at its feet, and a sister continent to the south is every day adopting it more and more largely.

It starts eastward, and there again a big continent is swayed and controlled by it, and around the world, in every port and over innumerable islands, the English tongue more and more prevails.

From A.D. 1800 to 1900, Russian, German, Italian, Portuguese, French, Spanish made no advancement, counting heads of population, while the English tongue advanced 125 per cent.

"What is it?" you ask. "Trade?" Perhaps. "Her powerful navy?" Perhaps they both may have had something to do with it.

But these and many more do not explain it all and, perhaps, we cannot fully explain it. The one great reason of all is, I think, the English language con-

tains in itself, in its books, in the legislative halls where it is spoken, in its churches and schools and market-places, more of those elements of true liberty and fundamental principles of national greatness than any other language on earth. Those nobler things for which the human soul and the human intellect continually long, are in the English tongue more than in any other spoken.

It is useless for the Scotch or Irish to grow jealous and sometimes complain that the name of "England" is so largely used, when "The United Kingdom," or the "Empire," in their way of thinking, should be employed. Strictly speaking, they may be correct. but it is the English language, all the same, that prevails, and it is England which has been at the fore in all the great things that have been done for the making of the Empire, and for the betterment of the race of man. Better far to accept the fact, and throw jealousy to the dogs.

It is England and the English tongue which have given to ever-increasing Anglo-Saxon peoples the good things they enjoy.

England has honored the God of Nations more than any other, in lifting up His name before her people as no other nation has done. Her Royal Exchange puts before the eyes of millions the sentiment where all who pass by can read, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Over the arch in the great Town Hall of Leeds are these words, "Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain who build," by which not a mere house is meant, but a

nation, a kingdom or an empire. On the Fishmongers' hall is engraven in the solid stones of its walls, "All worship be to God only."

Cast into the iron railing of the bridge which spans the Wier, coupling the two parts of Sunderland, in beautifully ornamented and painted letters, are these words, "*Nil desperandum auspice Deo*"—Never despair or be discouraged while you have God for your leader.

Around the eave of the Royal Albert Hall, at Kensington, are the words of David, on the outside, that all may read, "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness and the power and the glory and the victory and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honor come of thee."

Over the heads of those princely merchants who every day deal in many thousands of pounds' worth of wheat and corn and fruit and sugar and tea and fish, in the Royal Exchange of Liverpool, this inscription may be seen, "The earth, O Lord, is full of Thy riches, so is this great and wide sea."

These are only a few of many inscriptions of like kind on nearly all of the public buildings of England, continually reminding her people of the existence and greatness of God.

"Tell your master," said our good Queen, as she handed the Bible to the African, "that this Book is the secret of England's greatness." Other kingdoms acknowledge the Bible and God, certainly, but no other so openly and persistently.

None of her colonies desire her diminution. Rather all of them wish her to become stronger and stronger. None of her people have any desire that her colonies should fall away from her, and that some day "a New Zealander, sitting on London Bridge, may sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

It is possible, it is true, for just such things have, in earlier ages, occurred, but we all devoutly pray that the same wisdom which was manifested by her great men in the past may be continued in her foremost men of this day and of the days to come.

There is much yet to be done. Britain is not all that a God of righteousness and love desires.

The opium traffic planted in China by her hand, against the earnest protest of China's rulers, by which many millions of China's people have been ruined in body and soul, is a standing, everlasting disgrace to British domination. May the loving God hasten the day when her people shall awake to the complete annihilation of this monstrous evil.

Her liquor traffic, by which many millions of her own sons and daughters have been destroyed, is as great a sin as the other. There is no possible excuse for it. It cannot be successfully defended from any standpoint whatever. It contradicts every principle of righteousness and every principle of political economy as well. It may well be called more appropriately than was chattel slavery, "the sum of all villainies." It is contrary to the Word of God, to the laws of nature, and the ordinary sentiment of common sense.

Oh, Britons! I pray you, get rid, as quickly as you can, of these two great systems of wrong, for they are the eternal undoing of millions of our redeemed race.

God has honored the nation which has produced a few noble souls, who have, from Alfred the Great to Edward VII., fought nobly the battle of mankind, but God desires that every Briton should be a lover of righteousness and of his race, employing all the days allotted him here in lifting this world up nearer to heaven and the throne of the Eternal.

HEAVEN EXPECTS THIS DAY EVERY BRITON TO DO
HIS DUTY.

Like that angel which John saw standing in the sun, I see standing in our earth a mighty angel, made mighty by the God of heaven. On his head are those glorious British Isles, with their amazing history; his feet resting on India and Africa; his outstretched wings, Australia and Canada.

My sincere prayer to heaven is, if there be one tarnished feather in his wings, or spot of evil in his being, it may be plucked hence, or washed away. that he may go forth, glorious as the sun in his strength, carrying everywhere to all the race of man the principles of righteousness and peace, and liberty and love to the ends of the earth, and to the ending of time.

“ One in heart and one in hand,
One in counsel and command,
Far as winds and waters reach ;

One in purpose and in speech,
Facing, fearless, good or ill ;
One, but by unfettered will.

" Closer, closer, let us draw,
Knit by liberty and law,
Severed nor by sea nor zone,
Loyal to one king and throne ;
With Imperial flag unfurled
Proffering peace to all the world."

—Austin.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

But I see also, rising in the West, another angel, brought into being and into the bestowment of power, as a fellow and companion of the first, unto whom God has given greatness and wisdom and wealth—a nation which has produced, at least, a few as noble as those of the elder, who have fought battles as great at the cost of treasure and life for the betterment of our race—and again I lift my prayer to heaven, feeble though it be, that these two angels of the living God may, to the end of time, go forth, joined hand in hand, in the putting down of wrong, and of every system that puts shackles on men's bodies or souls, until the whole earth shall be filled with the glory of God, and until that greater angel shall stand with one foot upon the sea, and the other upon the land, and swear by Him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that are therein, and the earth and the things that are therein, and the sea and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer.

Amen. So let it be,
So say we all. Amen.

Britain and America, if joined hand in hand, in all good things, could dictate peace to the world, and could break the bonds of tyranny and despotism and slavery from off the neck of every son or daughter of Adam's race.

During the past fortnight the great annual conference of students from the New England, Middle and Eastern States, and from Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, was held at Northfield, under the Presidency of Mr. John R. Mott. On Thursday evening, July 4th, a unique Independence Day celebration was held. Several thousand people crowded the great auditorium, a large percentage being students from Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Cornell, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Syracuse, Brown, McGill, Dalhousie, New Brunswick, and many other State universities, colleges and schools of the higher learning. The flags of the two nations were everywhere in evidence. The address of the occasion was delivered by a Canadian. The British and American flags were carried to the front and crossed at the platform.

Even more suggestive was the patriotic demonstration by the colleges which followed the address.

Presently a huge lion stalked out and took up his place in front of the platform, keeping time to the McGill song with the beat of his tail. The great American audience went fairly wild with delight, and when the majestic symbol of British power looked around over the crowd, and then marched up and saluted the West Point military delegation, and was answered with a West Point cheer, the enthusiasm of that typical and representative American gathering knew no bounds.—*Globe*, July 10, 1907.

A SYNOPSIS.

This little book pleads for an Imperial House.
elected by all parts of the Empire. For example:

Ten for Federated Canada.

Ten for Australia.

Ten for Africa.

Twenty for India—one-half natives.

Twenty for scattered parts.

Thirty for the United Kingdom.

One hundred in all. Double these numbers if you will.

This house to deal only with those matters as wide as the Empire itself, with no power to interfere in matters limited or local. These larger matters are: The crown and dignities; army and navy; coinage and postage; marriage and divorce; commerce and weights and measures, etc., etc.

The argument is founded on the analogy drawn from federations of villages, townships, counties, provinces, Dominions, all of which have proved so successful and so useful the people could not possibly be persuaded to end them, or even to change them to any great degree. The federation of the Empire, as herein proposed, is simply a continuance of the system. It is the keystone of the arch, the crowning act of the process which has been all along, from the humblest beginning, the outgrowth of the very best intelligence of the people.

Though it is proposed to put all parts on exactly the same level constitutionally, and get rid at once of all "dependencies," it is the hope of the writer that England may always have first place in all British hearts.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

St. Catharines, Ontario,

July 12, 1907. (73)